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ABSTRACT

The five speeches in this collection all address issues concerned with freedom and responsibility in American education, especially higher education. The first speech, "Freedom, Coercion, and Authority" is by Robert N. Bellah. Bellah argues that freedom must be balanced not only by responsibility but by authority, and urges universities not to abandon their traditional role of producing educated human beings not technicians. The second speech is "Balancing Freedom and Responsibility with the New Market Forces" by Paul A. Elsner. Elsner focuses on challenges and issues faced by the community college sector. Third, Howard Fuller in "Reforming K-12 Education in America," focuses on the unsolved educational problems of poor children, especially poor children of color in urban areas and the relationship of colleges to these areas. The fourth speech is "Higher Education for the 21st Century" by the Honorable Richard W. Riley, U.S. Secretary of Education, who addresses such issues as the role of higher education in strengthening elementary and secondary schools, the need to increase diversity in higher education institutions, and the need for well-trained K-12 teachers. The last paper is "Preparing Our Children for College" by the Honorable Donna Shalala, U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services. Shalala reviews some Clinton administration accomplishments in education and health and urges greater involvement by higher education in such health issues as tobacco and alcohol abuse. (DB)

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Freedom and Responsibility: The Campus as Testing Ground

Plenary Session Addresses

American Council
on Education
Annual Meeting
San Francisco, CA
February 7–10, 1998

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Freedom, Coercion, and Authority

Robert N. Bellah
Professor Emeritus
University of California-Berkeley
and author, Habits of the Heart

The theme of your meeting is "freedom and responsibility." Such a theme is not unexpected in these rapidly changing times. Freedom is the highest American value, something before which every academic administrator and every faculty member regularly genuflects. We all want "freedom from" outside interference, and we reaffirm the traditional understanding of "academic freedom." But we know we live in a society and cannot exist outside it. Therefore we pair our central totem of freedom with another moral term, "responsibility." The autonomy for which we ask must be balanced by something we give in return, by responsibility toward our students, the communities in which our institutions live, the public which finances our work, and the nation and world of which we are citizens. I think the pairing of freedom and responsibility is a fruitful one and that we can learn much from reflecting on it. But this morning I want to take on a harder task, to discuss a much more troubling term than responsibility, to argue that freedom must be balanced not only by responsibility, but by authority.

I will take a leaf from some recent work of Jean Bethke Elshtain, who in turn is extrapolating from Hannah Arendt, in questioning the tendency of liberal social philosophy to think that social life can be satisfactorily conceived as a conflict between freedom and coercion. First of all let me say that by liberal, I do not mean what is called "liberal" in current American politics, but the classical liberalism that lies at the root of American politics from right to left, and that is today, in the form of neo-laissez-faire or neo-capitalist ideology, if anything more evident among so-called conservatives than among so-called liberals. What is missing in the polarity between freedom and coercion is authority, which liberals tend to equate with coercion, but which an older tradition of political philosophy held was the *condition* of freedom, not its antithesis. Indeed, following Arendt and Elshtain, one could argue that when authority disappears, freedom collapses into coercion. The form in which this logic works today is to equate the "market" with freedom, whereas government, and indeed all the non-market features of social life, as, for example, with tenure, are equated with coercion. This way of thinking is peculiarly American, and deeply rooted in an Anglo-American tradition of social thought, but is now increasingly shared by the rest of the world. It is particularly attractive to former Communist societies, which have suffered an intense form of state coercion.

But, I will argue, it is not only the state which can be coercive, but the market as well. Indeed, when the market is not moderated by responsible government and the operation of a variety of non-market mechanisms throughout society, then the market can become very coercive indeed, can become totalitarian. I think this is what is happening to our society generally and to higher education in particular. And I will ask whether there are today, in an anti-authoritarian age, any forms of authority that might help prevent market freedom from catapulting us into an "iron cage" of total coercion, and again with special reference to higher education. Authority, as I will use the term, refers to a normative order, even to what has been called "a higher law," which provides conceptions of a good society and a good person, and sets limits on what kind of behavior is acceptable in society. In this conception authority–reference to a normative order or a higher law–can be, and in certain circumstances ought to be, challenged, and must

respond to such challenges with good reasons. But, as in science, where everything cannot be doubted at once, an effective normative order and the authority derived from it must be taken for granted much of the time. The equation of authority with coercion, and its general delegitimation, I would argue, opens the door to tyranny.

I want to use authority as my contrast term to freedom rather than responsibility because, I will argue, responsibility, in more than one sense, is a source of our problem, is even a reason why we have lost the capacity to speak with authority. I want to argue for the double-edged nature of responsibility by starting with the relation between higher education and the state during World War II. In a period of general mobilization, such as a great war, especially a war which most people believed was morally just, like World War II, it is natural that the university would feel responsible to help out. Not only natural scientists but social scientists were mobilized to assist the war effort, and many campuses devoted themselves to the training of military officers and specialists. Under such circumstances, even though universities abdicated much of their independence in order to assist in the war effort, there was very little unease among administrators or professors. The cause was obviously just, and the mobilization, it was assumed, was temporary. In previous wars, most obviously in World War I, universities had collaborated with the war effort and then quickly returned to "normal" after the war was over. But the aftermath of World War II was different. It was followed not by "normalcy," but by the Cold War. Especially during the early decades of the Cold War, but to more than a small degree during its whole 45-year history, universities continued what can only be considered, compared to their history before World War II, an unusually close association with government, tailoring many programs, particularly in the natural and social sciences–I think of the area studies programs of which I was a beneficiary–to Cold War needs. During these long Cold War decades, universities generally, and the great research universities in particular, grew dependent on federal funding not only for particular programs, but for general overhead support.

Many of us were worried by these developments. During the Vietnam War, they gave rise to much criticism and, in some cases, to student violence. I remember vividly that twice during the late sixties,

the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies at Berkeley was bombed. As the Center for Japanese Studies, of which I was chair, was on the floor above the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, these attacks came close to home, so to speak, though the bombings were at night when the offices were empty. Though the students had a most exaggerated view of the activities of the Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, where, they claimed, the Vietnam War was "being planned," they were not entirely wrong in seeing that enterprise like many others, including my own center, as serving in part as information-gathering institutions for the more effective pursuit of Cold War aims.

Just how deeply Cold War collaboration was corrupting to universities has been brought home recently by the publication of Rebecca Lowen's book about Stanford, *Creating the Cold War University*, published, somewhat poignantly, by the University of California Press, in 1997. If Lowen is right, the Stanford administration ruthlessly tailored academic decisions to Cold War needs, considering such fields as classics and natural history irrelevant because they did not contribute ideologically or financially to the Cold War university that Stanford had become. But I must at once add that at the University of California, where, at least at the Berkeley campus, we never treated classics the way Stanford did, we undertook one of the greatest of all Cold War academic responsibilities, namely the running of the nuclear laboratories, including Los Alamos, where the atomic bombs were designed and produced, something which many faculty members, myself included, have fought for years, but which still goes on, though the mission of the labs today, it is declared, is only to guarantee the functional effectiveness of existing bombs.

While the evaluation of the Cold War in retrospect must certainly be complex (not everything we did even in World War II is above criticism—I think of the carpet bombing of Dresden and Tokyo and the dropping of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki), the Soviet empire was a real threat and our vigorous response to it did, surely, help to end it. My point this morning is not that academic mobilization for Cold War aims was in any simple sense wrong, but that it had a very unfortunate consequence. It led us to defend our institution in terms of an extrinsic contribution, a utility, a responsi-

bility, if you will, to an extrinsic end. It muted our capacity to pay attention to our own intrinsic ends, even to ask the question, "What is higher education for?" We lost the authority to speak of our own intrinsic values when we spoke so incessantly of our contribution to external ends, however good they might have been. And since our engagement with government during the Cold War years was also to more than a small degree an engagement with industry, so closely linked to government in many Cold War projects, it was natural, perhaps, when the Cold War so abruptly and unexpectedly ended, for us to continue to justify our work by its external contributions, now not to government in its Cold War effort, but to industry and the economic prosperity of our people.

A college education has been a road to upward economic mobility from the beginning in America, and the expansion of higher education in the 20th century, particularly after World War II, has enabled millions of young people from working class backgrounds, often the first in their families to go to college, to enter middle-class occupations and significantly better their standing in society. That is an achievement of which we can be justly proud, and President Clinton's proposal to make a college education as universal in the 21st century as a high school education is today is a noble one. But to make the upward mobility of our students our primary mission is a serious distortion of everything we stand for, or ought to stand for. It has further consequences in the ideological climate of the present day: It makes us simply a sector in the market economy, the "higher education industry," as it is frequently called today, and subject to all the strictures that apply to any other part of the market economy. This self-understanding is particularly tempting in an economy which is shifting from mass production to information as its most essential component. Aren't we the ones who will make our students at home in the information age, computer-literate "symbolic analysts," as Robert Reich calls the members of the new elite? What better way to justify ourselves in an era of tight resources (though we might ask ourselves why resources are tight in a high-growth economy)? And, after all, isn't there even a moral aspect to this self-justification: We contribute to freedom when we contribute to a free economy and to producing graduates who can use their skills to live lives with a greater abundance of choices. What a lovely marriage of freedom and responsibility.

The only trouble is that when we buy into the conception of ourselves as "the education industry," the freedom turns out to be illusory and the responsibility ends up being coercion. According to the reigning ideology of neo-capitalism, all the primary relationships in our society, those between employers and employees, between lawyers and clients, between doctors and patients, between universities and students, are being stripped of any moral understanding other than that of market exchange. Business has no obligation to its employees, the communities in which it operates, or the larger society. The same forces that are uprooting decades-long practices in industry are to be found at work in medicine, education, and even in the church and the family.

For a thoroughly chilling description of the new America, in which "market forces" are to determine every aspect of our lives, read Newt Gingrich's *To Renew America*, published in the summer of 1995, when Gingrich still had thoughts of running for president (maybe we will get a new edition if he tries to run in 2000). Instead of medicine, we have the healthcare industry; instead of the university, we have the education industry. Gingrich argues that doctors, for example, should be seen not as authorities but as employees, and we should see ourselves not as patients but as customers, shopping for the best medical buy to be had. Similarly, professors have no intrinsic authority, including no right to tenure, since they, too, are merely employees, put there to supply us as customers with educational services. What we can see here is the generalization of the CEO/employee/customer pattern far beyond the economic sphere: the head of the HMO is the CEO, the doctors are the employees, and the patients are the customers; the president of the university is the CEO, the faculty are the employees, and the students are the customers. I have even heard of one bishop in my Episcopal Church who calls himself the CEO of the diocese, with the implication that the clergy are employees, and the laity are the customers. A more complete denial of the body of Christ would be hard to imagine.

We have come of late in America to identify freedom with the free market. Indeed democracy is so closely associated with the free market that they are seen by many as co-dependent; indeed, if a society, like mainland China, has a free market but not democracy, then experts are ready to assure us that "inevitably" it will gain political democracy too. But it is just this assumption I want to challenge. What is freedom in

the market is tyranny in other spheres, in the professions and in politics. What is critical in a decent society is the autonomy of the spheres. When money takes over politics, only a facade of democracy is left. When money takes over the professions, decisions are made on the basis of the bottom line, not professional authority. This is just the issue that is becoming acute in medicine with the growing dominance of for-profit HMOs. And this, I submit, is the issue when the bottom line begins to dominate decisions in higher education.

There are several ways in which the tyranny of the bottom line drives academic decisions. When the university is seen simply as part of the economy, then the normal pressures for market efficiency set in, and the consequences are nowhere more ominous than in the sphere of personnel decisions. Contemporary industry is very concerned with controlling labor costs, and downsizing is a common mechanism to do so. In the academy, downsizing takes a subtle form. It is difficult to cut the number of instructors, since there are a certain number of classes that must be taught, and in public universities, increasing enrollment often puts pressure on to increase the number of classes. Nonetheless, in some instances, colleges and universities have resorted to simple downsizing by cutting faculty, increasing the teaching load, and increasing class size. Far more common, however, is to reduce the percentage of faculty who are tenured or tenure track and increase the number of part-time and/or temporary instructors, at considerable savings in salaries. During the recession years of the early nineties, the University of California cut its tenured or tenure-track faculty by about 10 percent—some say more—with vague promises to restore the positions later. I have no firm statistics, but as I have observed the faculty in the last several years, I see no indication that the cuts are being restored, nor do I believe they ever will be. The institutional consequences of increasing the proportion of part-time and temporary instructors are discussed at length in the recent (January/February 1998) issue of *Academe*, and I will not repeat what is written there, but other than economic efficiency, the consequences are all bad in terms of academic purposes, and the recommendations coming from a conference of ten academic associations published there is that the proportion of part-time and adjunct faculty should be decreased, not increased.

Another negative consequence of the tyranny of the bottom line is the tendency to encourage, or at least not discourage, relations between research laboratories, particularly in the natural sciences, and business, blurring the line between non-profit and profit-making concerns. Again, I am assuming that you are aware of the criticisms being made of these trends and will not pause to discuss them now.

A feature of the tyranny of the market to which I do want to devote some time is an obvious consequence of seeing higher education as simply part of the market economy, namely consumer sovereignty. If we are simply supplying a market product, why shouldn't the consumer be sovereign, as Newt Gingrich clearly believes students should be? Sometimes consumer sovereignty is dressed up in terms of responsibility to students, a concern for course evaluations and outcome assessments, even "faculty productivity." While I certainly am not unsympathetic with a concern to improve teaching, I am worried that in stressing the responsibility of the teacher, we forget the responsibility of the student. It is the teacher, not the student, who knows what the student needs to learn; otherwise why is the student there at all? But the model of an economic transaction starts from a fixed preference in the mind of the consumer, who simply shops for the best way to fulfill that preference. In the teacher-student relationship, which is not intrinsically an economic one, there can be no fixed preference in advance. I am opposed to the whole notion of outcome assessment, not only in the university but even in kindergarten, because it denies the essentially creative and unpredictable nature of the learning experience. We are not mere transmitters of pre-digested information, on which the student may be tested at the end of the course. What we teach are ways of thinking, even ways of feeling, and what the students learn often surprises us as much as it does them, which is as it should be. If you want information, go to an encyclopedia or to the world wide web, not to college. College is supposed to teach you what to do with information, how to think with and about it, and there are no algorithms for doing that.

I am not foolish enough to imagine that we can ever ignore the very real utilitarian aspect of higher education for students, and the fact is that, as I have already implied, it has its own legitimacy. But there is a way of combining the idea of education for career advancement and education for character, citizenship, and culture and that is through the idea of calling, vocation, profession in the deepest sense

of that word. Professionals, and that is what we are in the business of doing–educating future professionals–need not be hired guns, selling their expertise to the highest bidder. We can help them see that through their profession they can contribute to the larger aims of society, that professional ethics is not some last-minute add-on, but the very core of the meaning of professionalism. It was never easy to make this link, but it is a task more urgent than ever.

It is a task that becomes difficult indeed when the university is equated with a shopping mall, something which fundamentally undermines the teacher-student relation. Students who come to school with a consumer mentality have difficulty accepting, even provisionally, institutional authority or the authority of their professors. They are, I would argue, coerced by their preexisting desires, and thus unable to take advantage of the freedom that openness to the intrinsic values of the institution would make possible. I was disturbed, but not surprised, when a few years ago I heard that a student in the Stanford Business School had, after the first couple of class meetings, shouted at a very able young sociologist the school had hired, "I didn't pay $40,000 dollars to listen to this bullshit," and then walked out of the class. But I have recently heard of a couple of instances where undergraduates at state institutions, in arguing about a grade, said to the instructor, "I'm paying for this course," as though they felt they weren't getting the value paid for. I have not heard of anything quite so crude happening at Berkeley, but I have had several angry students come up after a lecture in which I had mentioned Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, telling me that I had no right to mention so many names they had never heard of. I'm afraid I told them that if they hadn't heard of them that was their problem and they should look them up. In short, I was not surprised to read a story in the *San Francisco Chronicle* last month reporting the annual UCLA survey of college freshmen with the headline, "College Freshmen Called the Laziest in a Generation." But it's not just laziness that leads undergraduates to think that professors shouldn't use words or names they don't know rather than that they should look them up–it's the attitude that college is a consumer marketplace.

It is this consumer attitude, which sees the university as a place to meet pre-established needs, that tempts some to say that we need to

emphasize learning rather than teaching. The teacher is simply a facilitator in helping the student find the necessary information leading to career enhancement; perhaps ultimately (this is one of Gingrich's ideas) all the student will need is a computer for "distance learning" without a teacher at all. I would argue, however, that it is only through the genuine interaction of teacher and student that the deepest kind of learning occurs, and especially the idea of professional knowledge as embedded in a context of ethical responsibility. Only a teacher who can model that in his or her own life and teaching can really transmit it to students, and that can happen even in a large lecture course, but not, I believe, through a computer screen.

In the current cultural atmosphere in America, in which economic criteria dominate every sphere, how can we resist the pressure of the free market to coerce us into abandoning every one of our defining beliefs for the sake of economic efficiency? It is here that I think we must make a claim to legitimate authority, to the authority to expect students to look things up rather than be spoon-fed, but much more than that. It is the authority to say that contributing to a vibrant economy, or even helping students get good jobs, is only one of our purposes, and probably not the most important one. An effective democracy requires informed and thoughtful citizens. Traditionally it was administrators who articulated one of the central purposes of the university to be the education of citizens. In a complex world, in which the democratic citizen is called on to understand and make decisions about myriad issues, this function is more important than ever, but few university presidents today, and not many professors, talk about it with the same enthusiasm as they speak of the critical contribution we make to the economy.

While I believe that academic leaders—presidents, chancellors, deans—can make a significant contribution to public understanding of our purpose and value, one that goes well beyond economics, and that they could do better in this regard than many of them have been doing lately, I also believe that an articulate professorial defense of our mission is at least equally essential. Here I am faced with the reality that few professors see themselves as representatives of the academy as a whole, or even of the institutions where they teach. Most of them, most of us, feel a primary identification and loyalty to our disci-

pline. (As I will point out in a minute, administrators often encourage such a narrow identity rather than seek to broaden it.) So, even though I have never been a disciplinary tribalist and have moved easily between fields all my life, let me nonetheless start from where most professors are and attempt to show how even in their disciplinary identity they can offer a broader definition of their role than a utilitarian world is used to hearing.

Let me turn to a leading figure in the last generation of American sociologists, Edward Shils, who articulated what he spoke of as "the calling of sociology." This calling, he said, was not to provide society with clever techniques for social manipulation–we might mention opinion polling and focus groups–but rather something altogether different. "The real deficiency of technological sociology," he wrote, "which would remain despite its scientific rigor, its moral naiveté, and its harmlessness (hitherto), is its failure to grasp that the true calling of sociology is to contribute to the self-understanding of society rather than to its manipulated improvement." (Edward Shils, *The Calling of Sociology*, Chicago, 1980, p. 76) This, at least to me, seems a splendid definition of the calling of my profession. What is our purpose, what are we here for, what is the good we pursue? It is to contribute to the self-understanding of society, so that both individually and collectively we can make sense of our world, can orient our action, and can make better decisions in many spheres–family, community, nation, and, to be sure, economy as well.

I would think, and I suppose Shils would have agreed, that a good deal of technical work in sociology can ultimately contribute to an increase in social self-understanding. But I am also aware, as was Shils, that technical sophistication can become an end in itself, a form of disciplinary narcissism, outweighing any larger conception of our calling. I remember when, a few years ago, my department at Berkeley received an outside review, as all Berkeley departments periodically do, and we were chided by the review committee for inadequate formalization, mathematicization, and computerization. Fortunately, at Berkeley such reviews have no coercive power. I suspect that, although we have more than a little technical sophistication, a similar review committee would find us deficient in these regards to this day, even though we remain among the top three de-

partments in the national ratings. But what struck me in the review committee report was the failure to mention the fact that seven or eight members of our department had made significant contributions to public discussion far beyond the discipline. For example, Todd Gitlin's work on the media and the Vietnam War, Arlie Hochschild's work on two-earner families, or a book on American habits of the heart, two of whose coauthors are also members of our department, received no attention from the reviewers.

Although the Berkeley department has managed to weather such criticism, at other institutions the focus on technical sophistication rather than social self-understanding can have serious consequences. At another campus of our university, I am told, the Department of Sociology was forbidden *by the dean* to make a junior appointment of anyone who had not published an article in the *American Sociological Review* or the *American Journal of Sociology*, the two most prestigious reviewed journals in our field. Now it's not just that most articles, with some notable exceptions, in these journals are boring, but that a survey of members of the American Sociological Association a few years ago found that a majority admitted that they couldn't understand most articles published in the *American Sociological Review* that gives me pause. Neither of these journals is a vehicle for reaching a larger public or, apparently, even for reaching most sociologists. In a situation where hiring, promotion, and tenure often depend largely on technical expertise, and where most of that expertise has little practical application, why should anyone care whether our discipline lives or dies?

I would argue that Shils's definition of the calling of sociology can be generalized to all the disciplines in the academy, and that we had better become aware of it if the university as we have known it is to survive in an uncomprehending and inhospitable world. Technical expertise can receive justification of sorts where it has practical payoff. I can envision a university of the future in which every field that lacks practical payoff will have been jettisoned. When I hear of so-called "liberal arts colleges," most of whose undergraduate majors are in business administration, law enforcement, nursing, and communications, and philosophy or religious studies majors are few and far between, I think we are already most of the way there.

Some disciplines have long understood themselves as contributing to social self-understanding. History, for instance, and not only our own national history, but the history of the world's peoples, helps us know where we have come from and therefore, in part, where we are, as members of the human species. The disciplines that study literature also have the capacity to hold up a mirror to us and enlarge our humanity. I believe the natural sciences, as part of a liberal arts curriculum, help us understand the cosmos of which we are a part, and thus enhance our sense of who we are.

A relatively new field helps illustrate Shils's point in an area that cuts across the distinction between the natural and the social sciences: environmental studies. A field which combines natural and social sciences to hold up a mirror to us about what we are doing to the environment would seem to be of the greatest importance, and many campuses have been increasing resources in this area. Not without problems, however. I have heard that business and agricultural interests have put pressure on the University of California through legislative influence to decrease the emphasis on ecological and environmental studies, which might threaten the economic growth of our state. This is the kind of issue that makes the traditional idea of academic freedom so important, along with the protection of tenure which is essential to it. In this example, our obligation to contribute to the self-understanding of society runs into a head-on collision with the idea of the education industry as just one more part of the global economy.

By now most of you have probably figured out my strategy: By quoting a leading sociologist about the importance of contributing to the self-understanding of society, I have ended up defending the traditional purpose of a university education, the ideal of *Bildung*—to produce not technicians, but educated human beings, persons of broad cultural sympathies, knowledgeable, ethical, and aesthetically sensitive. You may say that that is an elite ideal, and so it is. In spite of our commitment to the democratization of education, the university remains one of the most stratified institutions in America. And just as polarization increases in every other field, so perhaps only a few elite institutions will be able to maintain the traditional conception of higher education. I think of Rollins College in Florida, which

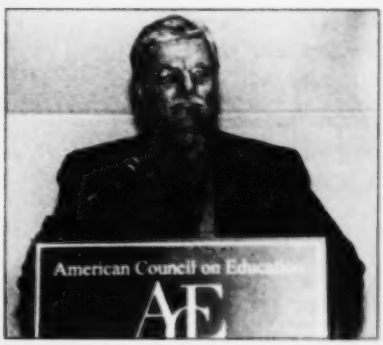
some 15 years ago abolished the undergraduate business major and put in a Classics major, and has been thriving ever since, though not exactly a role model for many other institutions. But I have also been told of a recent religious studies graduate who taught a course on religion for the University of Phoenix, for them a frill to be sure, but who found her students eager and inquisitive, willing to work and to learn. And I have a friend teaching a course on French literature at a community college who finds the students in this utterly non-utilitarian course to be enthusiastic and able. So is our future a real education for the few and a little frosting on the utilitarian cake for the many? I am afraid if we do not mount a better defense of our own intrinsic purposes than we have for quite a while, even a good education for the few may not long survive. Any effective defense would require that we speak with authority about the aims and goals of higher education, about its intrinsic goods, about the kind of institution it ought to be and the kind of graduates it ought to produce. I am reasonably confident that finding the courage to do that will enhance our self-respect and strengthen our capacity to fulfill our calling.

Balancing Freedom and Responsibility with the New Market Forces

Paul A. Elsner
Chancellor
Maricopa Community College District

First I would like to express my appreciation to ACE for the invitation and the opportunity to be here today. It is an extraordinary honor to speak under the auspices of the Robert Atwell lecture series.

In acknowledging Bob Atwell's numerous contributions to higher education, I would like to state that no person in the history of the American Council on Education or all of higher education has given greater interpretation to the pluralistic, diverse, and multi-faceted character of higher education than Bob Atwell. It is my hope that I can represent my segment in such a way that I live up to this honor and to his legacies.



I am also hoping that my comments will help translate and interpret this remarkable segment of U.S. Higher Education: the American community college movement, of which I have been a part for close to 40 years.

In trying to do this, I will probably talk about Maricopa more than I should–but it is what I know best. I will try to portray what our segment is up against, even in the face of a remarkable success record and a dramatic expansion these last three to four decades. This expansion of the

American community college movement has been termed the most powerful democratizing force in higher education in the world.

On matters of balancing freedom and responsibility, our segment has probably the best and the worst conditions of civility and rational discourse. The recent resignation–in disgust–of one of our chancellors in the L.A. system over contentious special interests, seemingly frozen to act in the interest of the L.A. system, comes to mind. Most community colleges are caught up in *pro forma* collective bargaining, or almost as bad, interactive meet and confer; the latter is sometimes referred to in the "trade" as "killing without rules." In addition, we are not without examples of shared governance having gone haywire, when once well-intended.

Add to that the fact that most community colleges live in the local cauldron of electoral politics.

At Maricopa, it is nearly impossible to get on a five-member governing board without faculty endorsement. With all but a few exceptions, my board members are faculty-elected. Over the years, including the nearly ten I spent at Oakland and Berkeley, I have gone through several transitional governments and at least one "banana republic."

In Arizona, the politics are not as swift as they are in Berkeley; however, in Arizona, they definitely aim better. All of these patterns of internal dissent complicate the chemistry of harmony, cooperation, and good will.

But community colleges are, indeed, a remarkable segment by all accounts. Of the some 14 million plus students enrolled in higher education, community colleges enroll in excess of 7 million of them. Of African-American students enrolled in higher education, about 48 percent are enrolled in community colleges. An estimated 58 percent of Hispanics in higher education are enrolled in community colleges, and 85 percent of Native Americans enrolled in higher education are enrolled in community colleges.

To complicate our demography further, Miami-Dade, Los Angeles City College, the CUNY system, colleges like Manhattan Borough Community College, and Maricopa enroll–by ranking–the largest numbers of F-1 (foreign visa) students. After Miami-Dade counts its over 5,000 F-1 students, it then counts its thousands of immigrant-status students who have arrived from Haiti, Cuba, the Middle

East, Central Europe, Southeast Asia, or other politically unstable regions of the world. From time to time, it counts its amnesty students.

Students seeking to move about the world largely connect with community colleges. And they often travel in "steerage," as if we were the Ellis Island of higher education.

ETS alone administers 1.4 million TOEFL exams–an indication that F-1 students want to study in an English-speaking country like the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and, increasingly, Australia.

When I served on a SUNY study commission, CUNY representatives testified that fewer than a third of their students came from families that speak English at home.

To get to a more central point–in addition to the complex challenges of these demographic forces–we are now faced with positioning our community colleges against two additional enormous forces: *the first being the current popular bias that open free market forces determine our best destiny, and the second being that technology is redefining our places, if not eclipsing us.*

We are faced with the responsibility of maintaining some kind of viable internal academic community in the face of these two large pressures. I do not believe that we can talk about the balance between freedom and responsibility without addressing the effects of these enormous forces: market forces, technology, and demographics.

Preoccupation with market and preoccupation with technology–both dominant features at Maricopa and almost everywhere–distract us from reaching back to our core values and central responsibilities as well as to the basic questions: Who are we? Why are we here? What do we want our students to know, to be, and for what purposes?

When I started in community colleges 40 years ago, I taught English in a small Minnesota junior college. The mission was simple: transfer most of our students to the University of Minnesota, Mankato, or Winona State.

Unless our students were enrolled in the only two vocational programs we offered–nursing and secretarial science–transfer was our basic mission. Students actually took a block of study. Back in those days, there were only 30 or 40 courses in the entire catalog. There were no market forces that we knew of or cared about. There

were no technology applications–we lectured. I cannot recall ever seeing an overhead projector. The college was in a labor town and most parents recalled the Depression. The politics were Democrat-Farm-Labor (DFL). I taught a student whose father froze his feet on the picket lines in protest of working conditions at the local packing plant.

Like in the mythical Wobegon, all of our students were above average, generally task-relevant, and even earnest. I recall the dean agonizing that the total college budget might exceed $100,000. Moreover, the entire $100,000 came from public tax sources. While people did not speak of a social contract, it was more or less implied.

Now jump to Maricopa. There are 6,100 courses in the course bank–about 4,500 active at any given time. Our annual combined budget exceeds $580 million. Over 190,000 students attend classes at the Maricopa Community Colleges in any given year–160,000 of which are unduplicated credit. If calculated at 12-hour full-time loads, we enroll close to 60,000 full-time equivalent students. About 85 percent of Maricopa's students are employed. Fifty percent hold full-time jobs. Fifty-seven percent are women and one in every three students is a woman over age 25. Of the $583 million annual budget (unlike back in Wobegon) only about 8 percent comes from state appropriations. When Maricopa was established in the early 1960s, 50 percent of the budget came from the state.

The Maricopa Colleges have become increasingly market- and demand-driven. There are costs to this, but there are positive aspects as well. Our presidents say this has caused them to be ten energetic, decentralized, creative, aggressive, autonomous, sovereign, out-of-control colleges. New presidents at Maricopa describe its culture as the "Aquarium of Life," where the big-fish colleges can devour the small-fish colleges unless they develop adaptive responses like protective coloring, stingy antennae, menacing teeth, and an aggressive nature.

Market forces have indeed set in at Maricopa. To some regret, they are deeply ingrained in our system. Restricted funds–like grants, contracts, and revenue-generating projects–approach $100 million (billings to Motorola for training contracts alone typically run $7.5 to $8 million a year). Because we are now tied to the economic development apparatus of our state and our local region, we are part of the portfolio for the prospecting of new industries relocating to Phoenix. We are in

competition for new industries with Salt Lake City, Sacramento, Montgomery County; also Austin, Texas; Southern California; suburban Brussels; Milan; Singapore; and most other domestic or foreign regions seeking to recruit companies. Our training prospectus goes out all over the world, while our economic development and workforce staff assist the economic development engine of our region.

Our current inventory includes 37 start-ups and relocations to Phoenix. Companies like Orbital Sciences Corporation, Olin Electronics, Jerrik Connecting, Interface Data Systems, Spectrac Suspension Centers, Matson Navigation Company, Medtronic Micro, Air Products and Chemicals, Arc Communications, Piper Plastics, Arizona Rotocraft, Wiley Electronics, Microchip, Pacesetter, Plastic Can, and Interface Inc. fill our training agenda. This workforce recruitment and custom training, built around economic development, is only one of nine market-based training areas we cover.

The second is long-range contract training—implying a closer year-to-year arrangement with the strategic direction of the company. Examples are Motorola University, the Ford Asset Program, GM, Deere International, Nissan-Toyota, and Intel.

A third market-based training area covers government contracts with municipalities for fire science, law enforcement, prisons, corrections, diversion units, human services, employment services, literacy, adult basic education, and so on. None is in our statutory authority, yet we often are the state's largest single contractor of these training services.

The fourth area involves standards, licensure, and certification such as Novell certification for network managers, Motorola Six Sigma, ISO9000, and other such training that often supports manufacturing processes.

A fifth area involves training aimed at the schools—middle and high school students. An example is Maricopa and NSF's $25 million combined effort to get 15,000 to 20,000 students algebra- and calculus-ready. This also includes the training of 3,000 teachers—all to improve the pipeline of science and math students based on the assumption that passing or not passing ninth grade algebra determines most students' life chances. These schools, as a market, have driven us to open alternative high schools and now charter high

schools, primarily to protect the pipeline of qualified students for our technology programs.

The sixth area involves our own organizational strategies like the huge Apollo Project, network expansion, and developing training around our learner-centered systems.

The seventh area involves open/entry, open/exit labs called PITS that run almost around the clock–interrupted only to sweep them out. These PITS, the size of football fields, have caused 80 percent of the disciplines at Glendale Community College to be taught open/entry, open/exit. This means the student can begin at any time and certify for credit on mastery. Rio Salado Community College offers 26 separate registrations a year. They hope to hold open enrollment 365 days a year for their 12,000 distance education students. Rio has grown at the rate of 12 percent to 18 percent a year for the last four years.

The eighth area involves international trade applications and related training. This area ranges from manufacturing processes to training for countries and regions that are moving from centrally planned economies to market-based economies. Our Chengdu Project is an excellent example. This China project has trained more than 400 policymakers. Next month, we will present a workshop in the Pearl River Delta on economic development and training. Training projects include market extensions to areas like Mexico, Europe, Southeast Asia, Australia, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

The ninth area includes Maricopa's commitment to train national cadres of future leaders. With a focus market of 22,000 division chairs worldwide, our Division Chair Academy trains in Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, Netherlands, and soon, Bangkok. Our Women's Leaders Program, funded through FIPSE and Ford Foundation grants, has allowed us to train over 80 percent of the women CEOs in American community colleges. We have passed about 4,000 women leaders through this program. Maricopa also supports the national center for Campus Compact training, setting up volunteer programs in community colleges.

But the most striking characteristic of all of these training areas is that none of them is tax supported–locally or through state formula appropriations. They are supported out of self-generating revenue funds, revenue-producing projects, or direct-grant funds.

When I came to California as a Stanford graduate student in the early 1960s, the Donahue Act had passed in the California assembly and a comprehensive tri-partite master plan for higher education had been set in motion. It was seen as largely, if not wholly, a public responsibility. State and local taxation undergirded this great system. As far as higher education was concerned, there was a social contract, and many states like Illinois, Florida, and New York followed this pattern.

Maricopa could wean itself off of state appropriations, and has considered doing so. We would trade control for freedom and responsibility.

The question we wrestle with is whether there is anything left of an already eroded social contract. There is just not much state responsibility. Living among a legislature full of supply siders, there is even less sympathy for local tax responsibility. We have legislators who would say, "If it moves, privatize it." Arizona, of course, is the cradle of American conservatism. Now Barry Goldwater looks like the paragon of moderation! Living by our wits among market forces and responding to market conditions finds us almost gagging on our own success, while awakening to a Darwinian, predatory, increasingly competitive environment. This has implications for sustaining a beleaguered community, potentially more divided, more disconcerted, and more worried.

To offer a lighter perspective, Maricopa's central offices sit at the narrow middle of a freeway system in Tempe. We occupy a mid-rise twin tower overlooking the artery of about 1 million cars a day–across the figure-eight of freeways is the world corporate office of the University of Phoenix (very motivating to be sure) and behind us looms Arizona State University's main campus with its 46,000 students and, as ASU President Lattie Coor likes to say, "One university, multiple locations."

We are, of course, friendly neighbors. We are like large bears. Maricopa is always embracing and hugging these two institutions–but never both at the same time.

This is good–80 percent of the University of Phoenix's students are transfers from Maricopa. Sixty-five to 70 percent of ASU's juniors and seniors are former Maricopa students. Approximately 8,500 ASU students are concurrently enrolled in our colleges. It has always been

like this–friendly, competitive, embracing. However, lately, as we hug each other, I feel the slight sensation that someone is gnawing on my rib cage; should I be worried?

One of Maricopa's long-standing vice chancellors, Alfredo G. de los Santos Jr., suggests that we might want to go over to ASU and visit President Lattie Coor and Provost and Senior Vice President Milt Glick–a periodic visit that is long overdue. So we get in the car, drive the mile or so to ASU, and meet with our fellow friendly bears.

The meeting is very pleasant. The University Club food is to our liking. Then Lattie begins to explain, in rhapsodic style, the "one university, multiple locations" revelation they have over there. We express our concerns and anxieties. We can tell that the denouements of Milt and Lattie's overtures are fast approaching, and the discussion ends with Lattie saying, "I admire your candor."

As Alfredo and I drive back to Maricopa, I ask him what Lattie meant by "I admire your candor." Our anxieties have certainly not subsided. Alfredo is silent. This is disconcerting to me because I have always considered Alfredo more schooled than most in translating the inscrutable language systems of university deans, provosts, and presidents.

Well, of course, it is always easier to compete than collaborate.

I am reminded of the statement Peter Senge once made at an MIT seminar that our folks attended on cooperation and collaboration: "In America, we shoot collaborators." No! I am just kidding, of course. We have a wonderful relationship with ASU and the University of Phoenix. I do pause to think, however, when I see slogans like the one on the University of Minnesota's web page. It reads: "We push data around, not our students." Pretty market- and customer-sensitive!

Anyway, to conclude this anecdote about our visit to ASU–before we got back to the office, Alfredo and I agreed to dump another million into direct mail advertising, undergird corporate training, and reaffirm international market strategies!

To put market pressures in perspective, even with 6,100 courses in the course bank, 44 percent of Maricopa's 160,000 credit enrollments are generated by only 25 courses. These are courses like math, history, the sciences, psychology–the bread-and-butter offerings of the lower division. In checking this out, we found similar patterns at Dallas and Miami-Dade.

If this is a market-driven, predatory, competitive era, 25 courses can be "picked off" by the barrage of extended-degree, distance-education providers. In this larger "Aquarium of Life," we would rather not add to the food chain. Who wants to be just stingy fish?

The positive side of market motivation is that we see students as customers or precious clients, as illustrated by our University of Minnesota friends.

The tension of market pressure on our internal communities– which pulls us in many directions–is not very comfortable for our faculty in particular. I like a quote from Marilyn Ferguson, who says, "It's not so much that we're afraid of change or so in love with the old ways, but it's that place in between that we fear...It's like being between trapezes. It's Linus when his blanket is in the dryer. What are we to hold on to?"

The second enormous force facing us is the way in which technology is redefining our institutions. In a Leadership Breakfast presentation at Maricopa a few weeks ago, Michael Dolence announced that of the 15 million students enrolled in higher education, 1 million are in on-line courses.

Moreover, he stated that more than 100 virtual universities were created in the last 22 months–some pretenders to be sure–but more than 100 nevertheless.

Of Maricopa's hugely successful $400 million bond election, $130 million has been set aside for increased bandwidths, network capacity, and other technology infrastructure.

Therefore, this enormous force–technology–seems colossal, almost exponential!

There are a sufficient number of frightening trends about technology's impact on higher education. I do not need to belabor them here.

The issue that stands out, however, is that–other than acknowledging technology as a tumultuous force with dazzling momentum–higher education has not seemed to forge a coherent vision for the place of technology in its enterprise.

One might ask: Where are the Promethean themes of technology? Who are the visionaries? Where are the grand theories of the future?

Higher education still seems to be groping in an artifact stage. A comprehensive vision has not yet emerged. Technology–more

specifically, Web services and the Net—meanwhile, defines its own boundaries, creates its own commerce—self-organizes as we speak.

At Maricopa, the integration of the Web, e-mail, video conferencing, groupware, simulation, electronic forms, instructional software, authoring labs, and multi-media production constitute a formidable arsenal of learning support. However, players like Maricopa can also be said to be disadvantaged in the new marketplace in that they do not hold a monopoly on convenience.

Colleges that enjoy so-called medallion status, or brand-name status, can now initiate Web courses that invade the convenience market.

While community colleges still have some access to, but no monopoly of, public funds, their advantage as a low-cost provider is being eroded by convenience providers who can be as diverse as MIT and the University of Phoenix.

For community colleges, nothing is to be taken for granted in this fiercely competitive technology millennium.

While technology has been an advantage to Maricopa over the last decade and a half, it could well contribute to its demise in the future.

Technology has been an extraordinary metaphor for, if nothing else, the advocating of change. The assumption has been that if you have a large investment in technology, and you have a lot of technology to show for that investment, you must be on the edge of change. It turns out that technology has not wholly assisted us in formulating a coherent view of the future.

Technology *has* suggested future positioning, but it has not, for some unexplainable reason, allowed us to generate a coherent future for higher education. Technology's rapid developments have hardly given us enough breathing time to envision all of its implications. This is the sad story of technology in the latter part of the 20th century.

At Maricopa, we suppose it is no small irony that, as a leading investor and apparent proponent of technology, we find ourselves one of its more uneasy proponents. I gave an address at a recent conference of the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE) titled, "Nervous on the Edge of Technology." Typically, we find ourselves in a sea of enthusiasm for technology. Our concern is that much of this enthusiasm is unexamined.

Some of Maricopa's concerns are as follows:

1. Technology vendors, both large and small, have had the corporate monopoly on releasing product development in such a way as to constantly keep the consumers at a disadvantage–even though community colleges are spending millions on hardware acquisition and applications software.

2. One of the industry's greatest hoaxes has been its "pushing out" of applications software. Most community colleges will readily admit they spend agonizing months, even years, trying to correct and bend bad product design to real-time applications in their colleges in order to serve such basic functions as admissions, recordkeeping, and the support of learning systems.

3. The computer industry is an industry that brags about its product efficiency, but has limited efficiency in the marketplace of many of our users.

Knitting the pieces together to make some sense of technology's future impact has been a major struggle for us. Through our Strategic Conversations, our Honors Programs, and our organizational development efforts, Maricopa debates what some of the competing views for the future might look like. While we have argued that higher education does not have a coherent view of technology, there are, however, some views emerging without higher education's help or involvement.

One example of an emerging conceptual model of the future is a vision based on "cyber-freedoms" derived largely from the Internet.

The coda for this model is: "I can communicate on my own time, under my own conditions, and with everyone, everywhere."

This vision is revolutionary in tone and those who lead it show in their demeanor little use for large organizations like television networks, corporations, universities, and government–particularly the FCC. This model holds forth at least these implications for us:

a. Our borders and authorities are redefined.

b. Nation states are less important.

c. The cyber-citizens are infinitely more empowered.

d. The state cannot be seen as responsible for as much.

e. Government should step aside–except maybe for things like weights and measures, disease control, and the defense of the country.

Decentralized commerce is seen as self-organizing and self-correcting. The metaphor of the Internet characterizes this new society–highly intuitive, highly self-organizing, highly empowered, highly democratic, inclined toward the re-writing of established order.

A couple of years ago, Bill Strauss, co-author of the book *The 13th Generation*, addressed our faculty at their annual All Faculty Convocation. Following Strauss's presentation, Vernon Smith, a 13th generation faculty member at Rio Salado College, responded with this Generation X manifesto:

> *Truth is much more subjective than one might think... People, governments and professors have their own 'spin' on truth.*
>
> *Information is not found in any single source or form.*
>
> *For the future, control and access to information is power. Show me how to get and use that access.*
>
> *Help me learn how to learn. Since instructors are no longer the only source of information, of truth; he or she can take a more useful role as facilitator of learning, not always the source or content expert.*

Generation X's preoccupation with technology is nowhere better illustrated than in J. Walker Smith's and Ann Cluman's *Rocking the Ages. The Yankelovich Report on Generational Marketing*:

> *Technology is fundamental to how they (the X Generation) live, work and play. Technologies provide the undisputed guiding force shaping their future; there is no future absent technology because it is so much a part of their being, any marketer without technology will stand out as generationally irrelevant.* (page 105-107, Harper, 1997).

A second emerging future might be unfolding. This future is defined by the special interests and coalitions that drive policy direction. These special interests become more important than either schools, governments, or universities. Examples of such special interest collaboratives are the Beijing Women's Conference, the Rio Summit on the Environment, the Cairo Population Conference, and the Singapore Conference on Thinking, which I addressed in the summer of 1997.

The implication for this kind of future is that our connections and our collaboratives drive more significant events in our lives than do the authorities to which we are normally responsible.

No head of government could forge as expansive a women's agenda as the Beijing Conference. Nor could the politics be as local as the real-time, real-level issues women face in their villages, their communities, their families, their religious environments, and in their own localities of country or religious community. So, too, the Cairo Population Conference broke down because gender became one of the divisive agenda issues. Here, collaboratives and coalitions clashed with national representatives. These tensions were intolerable for certain religion-based Islamic states. Only a couple of European representatives were able to take back the population agendas and get fair hearings in their country's policy levels on critical issues of population growth.

Another future can be envisioned as a media-defined future. This future presupposes that media shapes global attitudes because of similarities and tastes in music, clothing styles, and film. Approximately 800 million teenagers listen to the same sitar, rock n' roll, alternative, hip hop, steel band, Reggae music, and video productions. Madonna, R.E.M., Pearl Jam, Queen Latifa, and other international groups or entertainers set cultural standards.

Although the world is multi-cultural, in many ways it is more mono-cultural because of media. Media now shapes a collective global model of the future. This model is more youth-, film-, and media-influenced. The standards of sound and visual quality have never been more advanced. Youth demand high fidelity, high resonance, and a quality standard that determines the basis on which they will receive information. This has huge implications for demographically impacted schools like Miami-Dade and Maricopa. Youth, ages one to 25, have the highest video and audio standards we have ever

known, which prompts the story of the kindergarten youngster who comments dejectedly about his first day in kindergarten when he asks, "Where is Big Bird?"

We also know that global media, particularly modern film and music, defines the limits of violence, drama, romance, heroism, and love. Global acculturation to media is staggering. Few technology planners take into account the homogenizing effects of global media. If teenagers are listening to the same sitar, alternative, hip hop, steel band, and rock n' roll music, they are at the same time seeing the same signature clothing ads and resonating to the same general values of love, romance, heroism, and increasing violence. Just as Reggae and rock have fused, so have the youth cultures. This youth phenomenon may have more implications than any of the above futures. It will and has shaped massive global, commercial, economic, and market policy. In China, the fastest growing retail service is consumer electronic products. The challenge for community colleges, since this youth cohort ends up in our places, is how we take back the ground–probably by forging media-based learning strategies.

Well, to wind down, these observations do not offer many solutions, but they beg for higher education to develop a more coherent, visionary view of technology, and they ask that we not simply ride out its crests, waves, rivulets, and surges of progress. Well, to be sure, market, technology, and demography shape our destiny–not always good, not always bad.

But more important, how do we provide the counterpoints in our organizations to the enormous pull of market and competition? How do we provide the counterpoints to a pervasive, consuming technology agenda? How do we reach back to our core values and critical purposes? How do we maintain civility and dialogue over separatism and draining conflict?

To promote reasoned, civil discourse, Maricopa has moved away from the colder, hardly inclusive, legal, and procedural board of governors' meetings. We have converted most of these meetings to what we call Strategic Conversations. Once an issue is defined by analysis and white papers, these conversations are facilitated by trained facilitators–usually internal staff, faculty, and occasionally presidents or deans. Learners lead, leaders learn! Board members and the chancellor partici-

pate as contributors and listeners–there is no rank in the room. This has broken down divisiveness and created harmony and civility. Because of our history with TQM training called the Quantum Quality Project, hundreds of Maricopa staff at all levels have been trained as facilitators of these conversations.

We have had to train people in how to participate in conversations. People in higher education, famous for dialogue, do not know how to talk to one another.

During Maricopa's Strategic Conversations, the rules are:

- No rank in the room
- Listening is as powerful as talking
- Conversation does not have to conclude with a solution
- It is okay to just listen

Some of the early topics for these Strategic Conversations are as follows:

Topic Schedule for 1993
Maricopa Strategic Conversations

March 14	Strategic Issues Associated with Diversity
April 11	Strategic Issues Associated with Non-Traditional Education
April 13	Strategic Issues Associated with Quantum Mechanics (popcorn meeting: *Mindwalk* & Discussion)
April 25	Service Learning Presentation
May 9	Strategic Issues Associated with Financial Planning
June 13	Wheatley Presentation on Leadership & the New Science
June 13	Strategic Issues Associated with Marketing MCCD
June 27	Strategic Issues Associated with the Bond Issue & Facility Needs of Colleges
Aug. 8	Strategic Issues Associated with FTSE
Aug. 22	Continue Working on Leadership & the New Science
Sept. 12	Strategic Issues Associated with System Unity
Sept. 26	Strategic Issues Associated with the MCCD Internal Community
Oct. 10	Strategic Issues Associated with Student Transfer

Oct. 24	Strategic Issues Associated with Counseling
Nov. 14	Strategic Issues Associated with Faculty & the Maricopa Community
Jan. 10	Strategic Issues Associated with Continuous Quality Improvement Efforts

Margaret Mead once said: "Small groups of thoughtful, concerned citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has."

We agonize and struggle with these central questions at Maricopa. Some of the things that have helped are the thematic nature of our huge Honors Programs. Like this year's ACE theme, two years ago the theme of Maricopa's Honors Program was "Rights, Privileges, and Responsibilities–a Delicate Balance." Our most recent theme was "The Family: Myth, Metaphor, and Reality."

A recent Honors theme at Maricopa was "The Paradox of Freedom." In 1993, the theme on posters at all ten colleges read:

"Two world wars
80 religions
188 countries
6,000 languages
15,700,905 books
one humanity
our complex world
balancing unity and diversity"

Ironically, the theme for our first Honors Program in 1981 was: "The Impact of Technology on the Individual and Society."

Community colleges like Maricopa face a big challenge in trying to create an organized block of study. Our students are so intermittent, so part-time, so tied to employment for their support that it is hard to create integration from 6,000 courses in the course bank.

We even tried to incorporate "Capstone Courses" so students would integrate studies and disciplines. Unfortunately, it is not unusual for Maricopa students to forget graduation and transfer 56 hours rather than 60 just to get on with their scheduled movement to the university–forgoing the Capstone course.

This raises the question: Are community college students willing to savor their education and explore the enigmas of life? Sure, if they can do it in 20 minutes and if it is going to be on the test!

Some time ago, I sat in on an interesting course in which business, nursing, and liberal arts students were discussing their common reading of *Madame Bovary*.

The business, nursing, and liberal arts students broke out into discussion groups to explore the implications of Madame Bovary's demise. After what seemed a very short time, the business students said, "We're ready!" Remember, this is a generation that can deliberate life's universal themes in less than 20 minutes. The business students (mostly males) said that Madame Bovary's conflict was more than romantic delusion. They felt that she had lost her sense of reality and that, if living today, she would be an excellent candidate for a psychiatrist's couch.

The nursing students allowed that if you are going to commit adultery, such single acts play out in a series of other probable catastrophic events—a deterministic, more moralistic stance; actually very French!

The liberal arts students (mostly women) laid claim to the theory that she was a victim of entrapment, married to a boring, provincial, bourgeois merchant; and so it goes on.

The challenge seems to be whether we can be a market-driven, customer-conscious organization and still create a dynamic, developing, and reflective academic community.

Sandy Astin, among others, has suggested that our struggle with separation and compartmentalization, and our preoccupation with competition, has caused many universities to lose their sense of community. Astin's research, reported in the David Henry lecture series, suggests that those traits we purport to support most in universities and colleges—such as reflection, social responsibility, the meaningfulness of life, and personal development—are less present in colleges that have not created authentic community. In addition, the values given to materialism and competition seem more present when there is no evidence of community.

This brings me to mention another Maricopa activity as a counterpoint to our market-consciousness and technology obsession. We refer to this effort as the Maricopa Authenticity Project. The assumptions go

something like this: separation and alienation grow out of loss of community. While the central allures of the latter part of the 20th century are in competing, navigating, surviving, and winning, our real dilemma is how we go about connecting, communicating, relating, and reaching each other–in addition to attending to our inner life.

So, an authenticity group plans still another organizational strategy–likely a year of dialogue–hoping that Maricopans can explore their inner life, their connections with self and profession. Our theory goes that if we can integrate who we are with the work we have chosen, universally, person-to-person, Maricopa will become an increasingly powerful, more creative organization. This year of dialogue, assisted by Parker Palmer and others, would culminate, hopefully, with Parker's all-employee address one year hence.

In an even more romantic illusion, we would set out on a decade of dialogue, trying to create a healthful organization with healthy people in it–on the assumption that if we do not make this heroic effort, we would be a woeful and unhealthy place in a likely more woeful world.

Back to dialogue: Can we train people to listen to themselves and spot and assess their motivations? Can we teach stressed-out people to go home early occasionally and organize the garage or make jam?

Can you tell whether the point you are about to make at a senate meeting is really a devastating volley to your opponent, or an addition to the possibility of a solution? Is this a trainable activity? We think so!

Well, why these counterpoints? I guess we want our transformations and change agendas at Maricopa to transcend just market and technology. We believe that the more profound changes are embedded in our organizational culture. But, cultural change is a decade-long work–at least.

We have assumed a massive health occupations reform agenda with the support of the Pew Charitable Trusts. Because Maricopa is the largest health training provider in the state, this reform is a precursor of what all of Maricopa must confront in its many other programs.

Higher education is said to likely follow in pattern and behavior the changes and painful transitions health care has experienced. One of our tri-chairs for the Health Reform Commission, Fran Roberts,

alluded to the challenge. She cited the dilemma of Helen Hunt's character in the current movie, "*As Good As It Gets.*" In the film, Hunt's character is unable to access the health care system for her seriously ill son. Fran reminded us that health care in the United States, once a cherished system, has grown to be a suspected system and, in some cases, a hated one. This should not be a foreshadowing of a higher education crisis because of insensitive sticker-price shock, poor customer satisfaction, and genuine disengagement of our students.

In community colleges, we face adult learners who are estimated to spend 25 percent of their work time in any given week in training. They assume Powerpoint presentations, commercial quality video presentations, and good institutional design or relevancy and focus. Community college students vote with their feet. They are not captive. They can disengage.

This has driven us to be obsessed with designing learner-centered systems–where the students have access and ownership of their records and transcripts, their degree-audit progress, and their placement indexes of every course of study. The student should be seen as the principal navigator of all of his/her options.

Finally, our commitments to providing service learning and volunteer experiences throughout Maricopa have counterpoint value as well.

Chandler-Gilbert Community College sets service learning as perfect pedagogy–often the defining moment in the developmental stages of the growth of its students. Faculty claim that students see disciplines come alive after choosing to volunteer in one of some 87 different agencies. Writing a perfect topic sentence holds no comparison with the requirement to write from a passionate and personal revelation of working in a crisis nursery center.

Our ideal is that students not only experience such compassion as they might feel working with abandoned and even battered children, but that they become more reflective as to why such a center exists in the first place. What is Arizona's children's policy? What would be an ideal Arizona children's policy in regard to children's protective services, nutrition, family resources, etc.?

■ ■ ■

In conclusion, this presentation has been an attempt to review more of our struggles than our triumphs. When you look at my sector, about which I am hugely proud, I hope that you will see our place in this new market setting a little differently; that you will value our achievements, but not see our segment as a finished story.

I hope that you will help us see our segment as more than just a segment of bold American, pull-up-your-sleeves growth and pragmatism, but as a segment in profound transition searching for how we can recast, build, and sustain healthful community and, maybe, avoid that woeful world.

Community colleges need a lot of your understanding and help.

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Reforming K–12 Education in America

Howard Fuller
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I will be talking today about freedom and responsibility, but not a lot about the campus as a testing ground. However, I will touch on that aspect of the conference theme.

Instead, I will deal with these issues of freedom and responsibility as they play out in our current efforts to reform K–12 education in America. In particular, I will focus my remarks on what is or is not happening to educate our poorest children, especially poor children of color who reside in our urban areas. I would argue that this topic is crucial to those of you in this audience for two reasons:

1. Many of the students who come to your campuses are leaving K–12 systems that have not adequately prepared them for the rigors of college work (at least not in places where high standards have been maintained). I will focus on the problems of urban education, but it is clear that the problems facing K–12 education in America extend beyond the boundaries of urban areas. However, the problems are much more severe in these urban areas.

Note: This text does not represent Dr. Fuller's complete address, but served as talking points for the speech.

2. As citizens of this country, each of us, regardless of where we reside or work, should be concerned about what is happening to young people. It is an issue of the continuity and ongoing development of our society. Indeed, it is a question of the survival of our democracy.

Dr. Kenneth Clark stated:

"It is one of the cardinal assumptions of our American democracy that significant social changes may be brought about through education, by providing the type of intellectual training and information that will make it possible for citizens to make the types of decisions which must be made in a democracy rather than through tyranny or violence.

"This substance rather than the verbalization of democracy depends upon our ability to extend and deepen the insights of the people.

"Only an educated people can be expected to make the types of choices which assert their freedoms and reinforce their sense of social responsibility."

When I was Superintendent of Schools in Milwaukee, I was often asked what I wanted for my students who graduated from Milwaukee public schools:

I wanted four things:

- Postsecondary without remedial education
- Jobs–living wage
- Entrepreneurial spirit
- Practice of freedom–Paulo Friere's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*

There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education functions either as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present order and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes the "practice of freedom," the means by which men and women learn to deal critically and creatively to participate in the transformation of their world.

Martin Luther King, Jr. defined "the practice of freedom" as:

- The ability to deliberate or weigh alternatives
- The ability to think and to make rational decisions about one's life
- The ability to accept responsibility for those decisions

To help prepare our children to engage in the "practice of freedom," it is clear that we must fundamentally and radically change the way we approach the education of our children. Our education systems essentially are organized to protect the interests of those of us who work in these systems, not the needs of the families we are supposed to serve. In truth, it must be said that our higher education systems are a part of the force for the maintenance of the status quo at the K–12 level. Our pre-service education programs and our researchers often are so tied up in maintaining their financial and educational connections to the existing system that we become major apologists for those committed to the continuation of the current system.

Let me make this point in another way. The current approaches and power arrangements in our K–12 education systems work well for a significant number of children. They do well on various forms of assessments. Their schooling gives them pathways to participation in mainstream America. Their parents are involved, happy, and empowered. Their school environments physically and mentally are structured in a way that respects them and their communities. There is an underlying assumption that the school had better "produce" or drastic changes will be made–produce meaning the kids had better be ready to go to college when they graduate!

On the other hand, there are a significant number of our children–particularly children living in such urban areas as Chicago, New York, Milwaukee, Detroit, and Oakland, where most of our poorest nonwhite children live–for whom the current system does not work well at all. They do not do well on various forms of assessments. Their schooling gives them pathways to the lowest rung of America's ladder of success. Their parents are unhappy, uninvolved, and unempowered. Their school environments physically and mentally are structured in ways that devalue them as persons and are contemptuous of the communities from which they come. (When they don't learn, they are blamed.) There is the clear understanding that whether the school produces or not will make little or no difference in the lives of the adults responsible for their learning–the old "my check is going to come whether you learn or not."

For the sake of our children, we must change!

The only thing that is constant in the world is change. People, institutions, and processes are always in a state of change—some for the better and some for the worse. But far too many of us resist change, or we support change as long as nothing changes. So it is with school reform. Many of us give lip service to the idea of reform. But, basically we only want to tinker, to fool around the edges. Our kids *must* have more.

Albert Einstein made two observations that are instructive as we struggle to understand the urgency of the need to change in order to transform our education environments for our kids who need it most. He defined insanity as the tendency to do what you have always done, but to expect different results. He further noted that "the significant problems we face cannot be solved at the same level of thinking we were at when the problems emerged."

The thinking that is required now must take us past reform. Our kids need more than that; they need and deserve a revolution—a radical transformation in our thinking and practice. To help make this happen, we must understand that, in fact, the real issue before us is not schooling, but *learning*. As we look to the 21st century, we must develop ways to ensure that our kids, as Lewis Perelman states, can learn anything, anytime, anyplace. So our curriculums, funding mechanisms, teaching and learning processes, and structures must help prepare our kids for the future.

In reality, it is not only the students who must be prepared to learn in a variety of different ways. So must the adults who are responsible for making sure they learn. We must create within our schools a "community of learners."

Teaching and learning remains a complex, labor-intensive process. Teaching involves not only constant judgment calls, but also matters of the heart—in the expectations adults hold for students as well as for themselves. Adults must ensure the creation of a learning environment that motivates, inspires, and encourages the intellectual risk-taking that is necessary for learning to take place.

For deep, lasting, and ongoing change to occur, we must change how people interact in the process of learning. At the same time, we must rigorously examine our attitudes toward teaching and learning, particularly when it comes to non-white children and poor children.

We cannot educate our children if we do not love them, believe in them, and respect the families and communities that they represent.

In her book *Return to Love*, author Marianne Williamson, commenting on the fairy tale "The Frog Prince," asserts that the tale reveals:

"There is a deep psychological connection between our attitude toward people and their capacity for transformation. In the story, a princess kisses a frog and he becomes a prince. What this signifies is the miraculous power of love to create a context in which people naturally blossom into their highest potential...until we love (people), we can never understand them."

If we can't understand them, how can we ever teach them?

How important is expectation? In the words of a student, Melany Swasy, who graduated from JFK high school in Patterson, NJ:

"I once believed we are all equal, no matter what our race or socio-economic status. But now I have learned the truth, something that has shocked me into a state of sad realization, even paranoia.

"I now know that students from less affluent areas are greatly deprived of what quality education involves. We are put in a completely different league from our suburban counterparts.

"It seems that we are not only given the short end of the stick in terms of facilities and resources; but inner-city students aren't even expected to excel.

"We are sometimes granted honors for completing only part of a task, while students in more affluent areas are expected to do more to get the same recognition.

"We are pitied by outsiders who sometimes try to 'help' by giving us undeserved praise. Thus, we often don't expect much more of our own selves. We aren't pushed hard enough. We are babied by our teachers for too long."

Far too many of us—even those of us who say we care, we love the children, we believe in their abilities—are quick to blame the failure of our children on their poverty, their "dysfunctional" families, their lack of interest, etc. While these are important issues, we must also understand the research on resiliency. Bonnie Benard, in the winter of 1996 *Resiliency in Action Journal*, said:

"In the strictest sense, resiliency research refers to a body of international, cross-cultural, lifespan developmental studies that followed children born into seriously high-risk conditions such as

families where parents were mentally ill, alcoholic, abusive or criminal, or in communities that were poverty-stricken or war-torn."

The astounding finding from these long-term studies was that at least 50 percent–and often closer to 70 percent–of youth growing up in these high-risk conditions did develop social competence, and despite exposure to severe stress, did overcome the odds to lead successful lives.

So if we think this research has merit, if we indeed hold the highest expectations for all our children, if we truly love and respect them, what type of system should we develop that would be a catalyst for reaching our children?

What is required is a totally restructured governance and financial system, one that would support a system of learning opportunities, instead of our current school system.

These learning opportunities would include:

- New configurations of the existing system
- Public/private partnerships to operate schools and other learning environments
- Cyber schools
- Home schools
- True charter schools
- Multi-site learning connections
- Virtual schools

We must end the existing monopoly and develop a new system that truly empowers parents, that allows dollars to follow students, that holds adults accountable for student achievement, and that alters the power arrangements that are the foundation for the existing system. Normally, when I say these things I am accused of being on a mission to "destroy public education." To the contrary, I want to strengthen public education. The question is, what is it that determines when education is "public" or what it is that makes a school "public?" There are two key issues: accessibility and operating in the public interest.

Schools must be accessible to everybody; anyone can attend no matter where they live. There must be:

- No discrimination of any kind
- No tuition

- Accountability to some public authority
- Funding by public monies

Let's look at the issue in another way. Dr. Kenneth Clark, in *Harvard Educational Review*, Winter 1968, in an article entitled "Alternative Public School Systems," said:

"...Public education need not be identified with the present system of organization of public schools. Public education can be more broadly and pragmatically defined in terms of that form of organization and functioning of an educational system which is in the public interest. Given this definition, it becomes clear that an inefficient system of public systems is not in the public interest."

How do we enhance this accessibility, and at the same time create environments that are worth accessing? How do we create learning environments that are in the public interest in the way discussed by Dr. Clark?

We must include simultaneously:

- Rigorous curriculum
- Innovative delivery–multiple information technology
- Professional development

There is obviously much more that must be done, but in the end, there must be a way to hold people accountable for student achievement.

There are no "silver bullets" or "magic wands" that can be used to make things better for our children. We must pursue multiple strategies, taking into account some of the ideas mentioned here. But, it is crucial that one additional strategy be added to the list–choice. We must give poor parents the power to choose schools–public or private, non-sectarian or religious–where their children will succeed. And we must give all schools incentives to value parents and children and work to meet their needs. Consider the power of this right in the hands of families who have little or no power because they control no resources that influence policy in our schools. Consider how this power may change the shape of the future for their children. And consider how the absence of this power may mean their children will remain trapped in schools that more affluent parents would *never* choose for their own children.

The issue is not choice; it's who has it!

When I started my talk, I promised that I would touch briefly on "the campus as testing ground" part of the conference theme. While it is stretching the point, I do see the importance of the campus in supporting an aggressive agenda for change at the K-12 level. Some examples: giving faculty and staff (including secretaries, engineers, cooks, maids, etc.) time off to visit schools to see what is happening with their children; turning campuses into places where elementary and secondary students are welcomed to learn about not only the postsecondary experience, but also about the campus as a place to work; allowing college students to be involved in service-learning programs that involve them in the real-life struggles of poor children at various levels within the communities in which they live.

Perhaps the most critical role for higher education is developing citizens who value learning; are willing to embrace change; and are prepared to fight for the level of transformation of the existing system that is needed. We particularly need educators (teachers and administrators) who exhibit these characteristics. Where else will we find them except among the graduates of our college and universities?

In the case of educators, it also is crucial that we develop people who are prepared to help their students learn not only the old competencies (reading, writing, and arithmetic), but also the new ones (systems thinking, teamwork, experimentation, listening skills, the capacity to make use of all forms of technology). These educators must be technologically proficient and capable of connecting with their students. They must be able to work in and create a variety of new learning environments.

The challenges are daunting, but in the final analysis, it comes down to the will to do what needs to be done for the poorest of our children, those who need help the most. The late Ron Edmonds stated it best:

"We can whenever and wherever we choose successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us. We already know more than we need to know about what to do. Whether or not we will ever do it must finally depend on how we feel about the fact that we have not done it so far."

I leave you with the words of William Daggett. He said,

"We must love our children's hopes, dreams, aspirations, and prayers more than we love the institutional heritage of the school system."

Higher Education for the 21st Century

The Honorable Richard W. Riley
U.S. Secretary of Education

As I look back over the past year in the relationship between higher education and Washington, I see tremendous progress in which we all can take great pride. And I hope you share that view because America's students and families are better off for it.

We recouped some lost buying power for the Pell Grant with a 24 percent increase in its budget, as well as the largest boost for the maximum grant in two decades.

We saw more than 800 colleges sign up thousands of your work-study students for the America Reads Challenge. Through this initiative, thousands of your students are getting engaged in the needs of their college community. This powerful response to the president's call promotes citizenship and helps our children master the basics of reading.

And, we saw President Clinton and Vice President Gore lead the cause to expand the very notion of access to higher education. Through the Hope Scholarship and the Pell Grant, we now have put the first two years of college within the financial reach of every student in this country. And the Lifelong Learning Tax Credit will support upperclassmen and women, graduate students, and returning students who seek higher degrees and higher skills.

My friends, when it comes to higher education, we don't have to wait until the year 2000—the millennium is already here. The doors of college are now open to all Americans who want to work hard and prepare themselves.

Think about the overall impact of these developments within the context of recent history. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Pell Grant and other investments in student aid did well to hold steady; they avoided getting cut or being diminished by inflation. And some even proposed getting rid of my department.

This is not a time in this country (or any other country) for people to talk about cutting education. I had the pleasure to be with President Clinton and Prime Minister Tony Blair at Montgomery-Blair High School in Maryland. Our friend from Great Britain stood before this very diverse, high-quality high school and stated that he had three priorities: education, education, education. And President Clinton enthusiastically agreed.

Over the past few years, we expanded the bedrock student aid programs for the most needy students and created college tuition tax breaks for middle-income Americans—*all* while balancing the federal budget. It's a testament to the leadership of the president and vice president and to the great value the American people place on higher education. And it reflects your support and willingness to work with us and see these ideas through.

In light of these gains, it would be easy to declare victory and call it a day. But you and I know the education gap and the income gap continue to converge and become one and the same. And this is very troubling for many of our families and for America.

We all want more Americans to get the education they need to succeed as citizens and in the workforce of the 21st century economy. We have important unfinished business to complete.

Let me give you a quick summary of five points I want to discuss with you today:

First, your involvement in strengthening our elementary and secondary schools to build a stronger foundation for higher education;

Second, the continuing need to increase diversity in higher education institutions as a means of raising standards of learning;

Third, the need to get well-trained teachers in K–12 classrooms;

Fourth, creative ways to make college more affordable and hold down costs; and

Fifth, our commitment to increase and invest in research that goes on at your college.

One area in which the nation needs your creativity and active involvement to pick up the pace of improvement is in the K–12 ranks. It's my hope that educators at all levels will start thinking of education as a continuum of quality that must be maintained from pre-K through higher education.

A high-quality elementary and secondary education must be based on high standards. If we want our children to master the basics, we must set the bar high and do everything we can do to help them advance–starting with reading well by the third or fourth grade and taking some algebra and geometry by the end of the eighth grade.

If we want our children to be prepared for college, we must raise our expectations of them. If we want our children to compete in a global economy, we must expect them to perform to world-class standards.

When you spell it out in those terms, a high-quality K–12 education is everybody's business. That's true for you in particular–it's your concern because these students will soon be headed for your campuses.

To that end, President Clinton and Vice President Gore have just unveiled a new initiative that needs active support from you, your faculty, and your students. It's called High Hopes.

High Hopes helps colleges adopt middle and high schools in our hardest pressed communities. The key to the High Hopes mission is early action–lighting the fire in our youngsters as early as the sixth grade, especially for those students whose families do not have a history of college attendance.

We have a wealth of data that show early intervention programs can make a powerful difference. Arnie Mitchum has been a bulldog in this area as the chief defender of the TRIO programs, and those efforts have harvested tens of thousands of college students.

Local efforts are contributing as well. For the past four years, a partnership led by the University of Houston and The Ford Foundation has literally changed the life choices of hundreds of youth through Project GRAD.

Project GRAD provides mentoring, tutoring, and other assistance for students in two feeder systems of K–12 schools with predominantly minority students within the city of Houston.

By maintaining a presence for the same students from elementary through high school, Project GRAD is producing comprehensive improvements. College-going rates and test scores are up dramatically in these clusters of schools, while teen pregnancy rates have dropped.

Just last Wednesday, the president and vice president announced an important piece of High Hopes for you. We are requesting $140 million from Congress to support college-school partnerships and mentoring programs that give middle and high school students the support and information they need to prepare academically and financially for college.

High Hopes already has gained the endorsements of 58 associations, more than 300 college presidents, and a bipartisan group of 68 members of Congress. This is a great start, but I ask you to go back and get even more involved in partnership with your K–12 schools. Let me ask you to take these three actions:

- Keep expanding your America Reads tutoring in the primary schools;
- Build substantive partnerships with middle and high schools; and
- Sign up to endorse High Hopes.

These kinds of exciting local college-school partnerships will address one of the most vexing problems facing the higher education community today–the need to maintain and increase diversity in our colleges and universities. As Vice President Gore put it so well last week, "Diversity is not an idea or agenda; it is a fact of our world."

We are at a point in time when we are being forced to re-examine many of the more traditional means of encouraging diversity in our colleges and universities. Proposition 209 here in California and the decision by the 5th Circuit in the *Hopwood* case have altered–to a limited degree within the jurisdictions they influence–interpretations of legal policies in this area.

And yet, even with this re-evaluation, we must be firm in the belief that diversity is a critical part of a quality education. Rather than minimize our efforts to achieve diversity, these decisions should be used to develop and expand other strategies to help ensure that every child has the opportunity and the ability to learn to high standards.

Indeed, I would hope that all of you and your colleges and universities will work to develop other means of promoting diversity–from reducing enrollment barriers by eliminating the growing economic gap in access to higher education, to developing creative efforts to ensure that *all* top performing students at *all* schools are rewarded for their efforts, to renewing and increasing our attention on the years leading up to college.

To guarantee that these efforts work, all of you must not only increase your commitment in this area, but must also work to make sure this commitment is premised on a common understanding.

This understanding is that your schools must clearly define your educational missions and the importance of a diverse student body to that mission, and then you must work to develop thoughtful and legally supportable ways to achieve diversity.

I know all of you take this duty to heart and I look forward to working with you and watching your work in this area. Your energy, creativity, and leadership are essential.

These same qualities also lead me to a related request concerning President Clinton's Initiative on Race, which is designed to help strengthen race relations in America.

As you may know, in October of last year, ACE, along with the Association of American Colleges and Universities, formally announced a partnership with the President's Initiative on Race to help encourage colleges and universities to participate in the initiative.

At the beginning of April, the President's Initiative on Race, working with the U.S. Department of Education, ACE, and other higher education and community organizations, will take part in a series of activities intended to involve colleges and universities more directly in the initiative.

By hosting a campus town hall meeting on race, promoting campus-community dialogues on race, or through other activities, you have the ability to galvanize your campus community and become a leader in this historic effort to build one America.

As leaders in education, you are integral to this effort. In addition, the critical role you play as educators reaffirms the understanding that a continuum of quality education must also include a focus on educators themselves. Many of you probably have heard me talk

about the critical shortage of teachers–America's schools will need to hire 2 million teachers over the next decade to keep up with enrollment growth and faculty attrition. And they must be better prepared and better supported than ever before.

Our higher education reauthorization bill will include a new Title V to boost teacher recruitment and retention efforts. We want Title V to help create partnerships that link colleges with poor urban and rural school districts. Through scholarships and other incentives, we hope to attract, prepare, and support Americans of all ages who will then teach children coming of age in our most distressed communities.

But there's more fallout related to the enrollment explosion known as the Baby Boom Echo that deserves our attention. Baby Boom retirements will soon start to deplete the principals' ranks, too.

I urge you to take this challenge for more and better teachers and principals very seriously. These new K–12 educators will be the very people–your current students –who will be educating your future students for 30 or 40 years to come. Let me ask you to dedicate your institutions to take on these issues–strengthen your schools of education, but also enlist your colleges of arts and science, your business schools–the entire faculty.

For the continuum of quality education to be meaningful, it must be accessible at every level. Access to higher education, of course, focuses primarily on cost.

The tax breaks and Pell Grant increases that you helped us enact last year posed an important credibility test for higher education. Some folks who opposed the idea claimed that many colleges would seize on these tax breaks and higher grants as an opportunity to ratchet up tuition.

That viewpoint missed a couple of key ingredients in the mix. Current pressures in the marketplace and in state capitals are encouraging colleges to hold down costs–and many of you have found creative ways to do so. And further, I know the leaders of the higher education community, and I never feared that scenario because you all know better than anyone that it wouldn't be in your students' best interests.

The president's 1999 budget extends his commitment to further help students and families pay for college. It includes a $100 boost to the maximum Pell Grant, expansion of College Work-Study to reach his

goal of 1 million student beneficiaries, and a cut in student loan origination fees with an eye toward phasing them out altogether over five years.

And this year's reauthorization of the Higher Education Act gives us all a prime opportunity to rededicate our efforts to hold down college costs.

The National Commission on the Cost of Higher Education gave all of us an instructive document on this complex issue. There are some ideas in the commission report that we should all heed. From the department's perspective, I'd like to mention two in particular.

The commission recommended "that governments develop new approaches to academic regulation, approaches that emphasize performance instead of compliance, and differentiation in place of standardization."

Many of you have been pushing the U.S. Department of Education to take a stronger performance-based approach to regulation. We agree with you. As you will see, our reauthorization bill will include some significant systems that take performance into account, and offer you relief in terms of reporting requirements for high-performance institutions.

That bill also will propose ways to dramatically simplify the refund process when students leave school before the term is completed.

I've been pleased to hear from ACE and other organizations that these financial responsibility regulations set a new standard for collaborative, constructive work with the higher education community.

The commission also urged academic institutions to "intensify their efforts to control costs and increase institutional productivity," and suggested that individual institutions–drawing technical support from higher education associations–should take another cut at finding cost savings. We urge you to do that also.

Beyond the issue of cost, I'm proud to point out the piece of our 1999 budget that will warm your hearts and that of your faculty. As Vice President Gore noted last week, the budget includes "the largest commitment to key civilian research in the history of the United States." This boon in research spending will cover the gamut of civilian R&D work–including scientific exploration supported by the NIH, NSF, and the Departments of Commerce, Energy, and Transportation, among others. Our Department of Education will also be

investing more in research to boost math and reading achievement and apply the findings of the new brain research in our preschools and early grades.

Let me wrap up. If you get right down to it, our entire set of education initiatives is about getting smart, creative, hard-working Americans together for everyone's benefit. All of these efforts, proposals, and ideas are as simple as that.

Just as basic research leads us to the scientific discoveries of tomorrow, our education plan can help unearth the human potential of the future.

The author Charles Frazier–a proud son of the other Carolina, to my mind–captured it to a tee in his blockbuster novel "Cold Mountain," where he described Ada Monroe's late father this way: "He talked of ignorance and devised strategies for its defeat."

That story may be set in the age of the plow mule, but the remark still applies in the age of the computer mouse. It is incumbent upon us as educators to ensure that every American gets a shot at a world-class education. If we work together, we will reach them–and those efforts will unleash a new generation of educated and hard-working citizens to keep America strong in the 21st century.

Preparing Our Children for College

The Honorable Donna Shalala
U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services

As I was preparing for today's conference, I recalled a story about the well-known educator and author, William Lyon Phelps. While teaching at Yale, Phelps once gave an examination in English literature just before Christmas break. He asked his students to discuss poet Gerard Manley Hopkin's "sprung rhythm" technique. One young scholar handed in a very short paper, reading "Only God knows the answer to this question. Merry Christmas." Phelps returned the paper after Christmas vacation with the note: "Happy New Year. God gets an A–you get an F."

I'm sure Phelps would agree that being prepared is the key to success in college. But as we enter the new millennium, success in college is the key to being prepared for *life*. In this information age of the 21st century, a higher education will open the doors of opportunity, prosperity, and possibility. As the president noted in his State of the Union Address, "The Information age is, first and foremost, an education age." But how do we ensure that every child someday will have the opportunity to walk through those doors? How do we ensure they'll succeed once inside the hallowed halls? And how do we ensure that every individual gets the most from

their college experience? I believe that there's only one answer to all of these questions: College preparation must begin in the cradle. And it demands a "seamless system" that will propel our children–all of our children–from the nursery to grade school, through high school, and into post-secondary education. How we achieve that seamless system is what I want to discuss today. And I'm happy to do so with so many former colleagues–because, as I'll mention in a moment, you have key roles to play.

Whenever I visit a day care center today and see boys and girls learning and growing, I see more than a new generation. I see the children of the millennium. Children who will grow to define America's greatness in the next century. And children who are counting on us to give them the care–and the tools–and the chance to get the education and experience they'll need to be great. But how do we do this? First, we know that we must develop their minds and ensure their health.

It starts with quality child care. That's why President Clinton has proposed his Child Care Initiative. It's the largest single investment in child care in our nation's history: $20 billion over five years. It also significantly increases after-school care, because it includes an $800 million initiative for schools and communities to team up to provide after-school programs for half a million school-age children. With your wealth of knowledge and creativity, nobody is better qualified to help your communities establish good programs that nurture children while their parents are at work–or in class.

Of course, millions of parents who worry about after-school care have an additional concern if their children get sick–because they have no health insurance. Our goal is to ensure that every child in America has quality health insurance. That's why, last year, we created the Children's Health Insurance Program, or CHIP. With an unprecedented $24 billion commitment, CHIP represents the first down payment we've made to make that goal a reality–and to improve the health of all our children.

Our second down payment on children's health is the President's 21st Century Research Fund. It is an historic national effort to spur the best minds of this generation to unlock new scientific discoveries, medical treatments, and health strategies, and to attract and train the best minds of the next generation to science. Today, the pace of medi-

cal discovery is limited not by science, imagination, or intellect, but mostly by resources.

So the research fund provides a $1.1 billion budget increase for the National Institutes of Health next year, part of an historic, 50 percent expansion over the next five years. It will steady the stream of research money, and initially fund nearly a third of all research grant proposals to reinvigorate our War on Cancer and expand our assault on other diseases. So that someday, if the children of the millennium want to read about cancer, AIDS, or diabetes, they'll have to open the history books, not the newspaper.

Of course, no matter how well we ensure their health, the children of the millennium can't take the first steps down the road to college without good schools. That's why the president has proposed the first-ever national effort to reduce class size in the early years, by hiring 100,000 new teachers who have passed a state competency test. With these new teachers, class size in the first, second, and third grades can be reduced to an average 18 students per room–down from an average of slightly more than 25 students in self-contained classrooms today. Eighteen students–imagine how much more a teacher can teach. But more teachers with fewer students requires more classrooms. So the president also has asked for a school construction tax cut to help communities modernize or build 5,000 schools.

But even when young people are ready to enter college, we have to ensure that the price of admission doesn't slam the door in their faces. This administration has fought to keep the door open with robust college financial aid. And over the past year, look at what we've accomplished: 220,000 new Pell Grants for deserving students and tax-free education IRAs. And student loans that are already less expensive and easier to repay–where you can now deduct the interest. For the first two years of college, families can now get a $1,500 tax cut–a Hope Scholarship that will cover the cost of most community college tuition. And for junior and senior year, graduate school, and job training, there's a lifetime learning grant. These are important steps forward–but they are steps to build on, not to rest on. This year, the president's budget includes $7.6 billion for Pell Grant programs–an increase of $249 million. It increases Work-Study by $70 million, which would allow the program to reach the president's goal of giving

1 million recipients the opportunity to work their way through college. And the HOPE Scholarship and Lifetime Learning Tax credits will provide an estimated $6.7 billion to help more than 12 million students and their families afford post-secondary education. Additionally, the president proposes to further reduce student borrowing costs by cutting student loan origination fees from 4 percent to 3 percent for all borrowers.

Of course, no matter what the age or financial circumstance, everyone who has the ability and the desire to attend college should have the opportunity. That includes parents who've made the transition from welfare to work, and colleges and universities have a role to play in extending this dream–so I urge you to work with your states and local communities to make it possible. Education has always been an avenue to a better life, and we need to remove as many road blocks on that avenue as possible.

Of course a university is not a safe haven–shielding students from life's realities. In fact, three of our nation's biggest public health problems are also *campus* health problems. I'm talking about tobacco, drugs, and alcohol. Helping our young people resist these behaviors is the three-part challenge I want to offer you today–and it's a challenge that we can't meet unless each and every one of us gets involved.

Now I'm not asking colleges to be surrogate parents. But just as Hillary Clinton says it takes a village to raise a child, it takes an academic village to prepare a student for life beyond commencement day. But as a former college professor and administrator myself, I know it's not a simple thing to reach–let alone teach–young people today. I've never met a teenager or college student who spent more than five minutes a year reading a public health brochure. But they do use the Internet; they do watch videos; they do look at magazines.

That's why I put on a milk mustache. You may have seen the ads–I can't seem to avoid them. I figured, anybody who doesn't mind wearing a cheese-head shouldn't mind wearing a milk mustache. But I did these ads to get out an important word on public health–that teenagers need calcium now to avoid osteoporosis later in life. We're trying other creative strategies to deliver the public health message where public health is jeopardized. Such as smoking.

Our Monitoring the Future study showed that from 1996 to 1997 daily cigarette use among 12th graders, the very students who are

standing on your thresholds, increased to 24.6 percent–its highest level since 1979. And the 1995 National College Health Behavior Risk Survey indicated that almost one-third of our college students are already smokers. Thanks to the courage of this president, the tobacco industry can no longer peddle its poison to our children. And our new budget gives the FDA a $100 million increase to enlist store clerks and managers in our fight against tobacco sales to minors. But the industry is increasingly targeting college students, by holding promotions at bars that students frequent, by giving away free merchandise, and by investing millions in advertising. We're fighting back, first by fighting teen smoking.

So I'm pleased to announce at this conference that our Centers for Disease Control are teaming up with the four-time Grammy Award-winning music group Boyz II Men to launch our third annual "Teen Media Contest on Tobacco." Boyz II Men is challenging high school students in more than 30,000 schools to write and produce creative messages for their fellow teens about the dangers of tobacco–messages that they'll really listen to. The contest package includes an "Ask Boyz II Men" sheet covering topics such as how smoking hurts peak performance. And teens also will have the opportunity to interview the group on an Internet chat line–which will be announced at a later date on the CDC web site. I urge all of you to join our fight against tobacco. I urge you to declare college-sponsored events "smoke-free." And I urge you to ensure that students who want to quit can get the help they need.

Tobacco can kill you, eventually. But drugs can kill your future immediately. Unfortunately, the news about drug abuse among young adults is not good. Our 1996 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse showed that for those ages 18 to 25, the rate of past month illicit drug use increased from approximately 13 percent to more than 15.5 percent, from 1994 to 1996. That's why, under this president, we've undertaken a comprehensive program of law enforcement; intervention; prevention; treatment; and research and public education about substance abuse. But we all have to be involved in the battle. Students need to know that drug use on campus will not be tolerated. And we all need to send constant and consistent messages that drugs are not the stuff of dreams, but the stuff of nightmares.

Of course, the number-one risky behavior among college students is alcohol abuse. The great British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli once noted, "A university should be a place of light, of liberty–and of learning." Unfortunately, too many of our students go to college searching not for academic knowledge–but for alcoholic beverages. The most recent data from the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism indicates that more than 40 percent binge drink–which is five or more drinks in a row for males, and four or more for females. In the state of Virginia alone last year, five college students died in one month in incidents tied to alcohol.

The most recent victim–a 21-year-old women–is thought to have been participating in a ritual called a "fourth-year fifth," where seniors drink a fifth of liquor before the last home football game. Her blood alcohol level was .27–three times the legal limit in Virginia. There have been other alcohol-related deaths at MIT, Louisiana State, Fordham, the University of Massachusetts, Vanderbilt, Penn State, and many other schools. And the problem isn't just acute alcohol poisoning.

A landmark 1993 Harvard University study found that frequent binge drinkers are seven to 16 times more likely than non-binge drinkers to have missed class, engaged in unplanned or unprotected sex, gotten in trouble with campus police, damaged property, or been injured. And among non-binge drinking women, the study indicated that 26 percent had experienced an unwanted sexual advance due to another student's drinking.

We also know that alcohol abuse is frequently a factor in suicide, drowning, and accidental deaths. And that it increases your chances for later health problems such as cancer, stroke, or cirrhosis of the liver. Furthermore, a recent NIH study of more than 27,000 current and former drinkers clearly demonstrated the link between first-time alcohol use and later alcohol dependence. The rates of lifetime alcohol dependence declined from more than 40 percent for those who had started drinking at age 14 or younger–to roughly 10 percent among those who started drinking at ages 20 and older.

Amidst all of this news, two months ago our department released the 1997 Monitoring the Future Survey, which measures substance abuse among eighth, 10th, and 12th graders. It was sobering news. More 12th graders drank five or more drinks in a row at least once a

week during a two-week period, while fewer seniors thought having five or more drinks once or twice each weekend was harmful. That means our message about the dangers of alcohol are still not getting through to thousands of older teens; teens who–even as we speak–may be packing their bags to come to your schools.

But how can we expect our young people to say "no" to binge drinking, when society, alumni–and especially advertising–are sending messages that say "yes?"

I believe the time has come for schools to consider voluntary guidelines that say:

No alcohol advertising on the premises of an intercollegiate athletic event. No bringing alcohol to the site of an event–and that includes everyone. No turning a blind eye to underage drinking at tailgate parties. And no alcohol sponsorship of intercollegiate sporting events. Let's finally send the message that sports and alcohol don't mix; that the focus of college life must be the classroom, not the bar room; and that it's time to plug the keg, cap the bottle, and turn off the tap. I know that this will have some impact on revenue. And I know that there has been resistance from colleges, alumni, and the NCAA to these kind of tough guidelines in the past. But in the light of recent alcohol-related deaths, and research suggesting that advertising may influence adolescents to be more favorably disposed to drinking, the time has come to seriously reconsider them.

In fact, we shouldn't stop with sporting events. The National Commission on Drug-Free Schools has called for a prohibition of all alcohol advertising in school stadiums, at school buildings, and at school events. That would exclude the use of college logos or mascots by the alcohol industry; the co-sponsorship of Greek events by the alcohol industry; and industry sponsorship of school programs. This won't be easy. But we simply cannot continue the Faustian bargain of revenues and sponsorship in exchange for alcohol promotion–because it's our students who ultimately pay the price.

But breaking the connection between drinking and student life–especially sports–is only part of the solution to the problem of alcohol on campus. We also need to focus much more on early detection, timely intervention, and comprehensive prevention–which I know you'll be discussing at a session later today.

And we all need to get involved–it takes the entire academic village. We need college officials to consistently enforce drinking regulations on campus and to provide students with sufficient recreational opportunities that don't include alcohol. We need faculty to take an interest in the well-being of their students and to make more than minimal academic demands. We need pubs and liquor stores near colleges to enforce underage drinking laws and to discourage irresponsible drinking. And we need each and every one of us–parents, alumni, staff, and coaches–to send consistent anti-drinking messages that will drown out the pro-use messages blaring from our society. This will certainly make for healthier students–and for more successful students.

I know that we've all heard the old saying that success isn't a destination, it's a journey–and I'm sure Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes would have agreed. Holmes once boarded a train at Washington's Union Station. But in the general commotion, he promptly lost his ticket. The conductor immediately recognized him and said, "Never mind, Mr. Justice. When you find your ticket, I'm certain you'll mail it in." "Mr. Conductor," Holmes replied, "the question isn't 'Where's my ticket?' but, 'Just where am I supposed to be going?'"

I think that story proves that, during a journey, we must never lose sight of our final destination. And that's certainly true when it comes to the journey to college. For your institutions, the class of 2016 is being born today. And as the children of the millennium make their journey from the nursery room to the dorm room, we all must help along the way. After all, college has changed a lot since Mt. Holyoke required that its applicants be able to repeat the multiplication tables, kindle a fire, and mash potatoes. And we must ensure that our children are prepared for the challenges of the 21st century. Because who knows what course these future students–who are only now beginning life's journey–may one day chart? They may discover new paths to better health, they may map a new route to understanding the origins of the universe, or they may blaze new trials in the global struggle for peace and equality. But right now, their future is very much in our hands. If we want our future leaders to fulfill their promise, then we must continue to meet the challenges of smoking, drug abuse, and drinking. We must strive to find innovative ways to aid our future students on their journey and we must never give up on our young people.

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